777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by ha ving a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops at once and makes water on them.

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777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

627 representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas
171 and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be
562 their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian
562 women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general,
[574] if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from
[443] their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a
[576] woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of
855 way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

432 In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th
[623] (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents
427 in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is
623 not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman)
426 who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies
686 in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his
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2) Commentary:

This document, this community charter, as is customary with such writings, begins by enumerating the men who attended the meeting in which it was drawn up. This simple list of names reveals to us, in the first place, the supremacy of the laymen, with civil power, over the clerics, a fact which may be observed in the name of the man figuring in first place being ahead of that of the Talib Sidi Shu'aib. The order in which the names occur is not a casual one. The editors of the qanuns, profound psychologists who know to perfection the environment in which they operate, never dare to invert the terms of social protocol; they know with their eyes closed who must occupy the preferential place, and that the slightest transgression in this respect would tear down not only the agreement, through any quarrel which might take place, but also the effigy of the editors themselves[39].....

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The first paragraph puts into relief just who are the representative men of the jma'th, the notables, the heads of the lineages making up the village, the iziddifen, who formed the council regulating neighborhood relations, the only council empowered to legislate in such questions (Blanco: paragraph i or j), and equivalent to the Spanish Consejo or Ayuntamiento.[40]

The agraw or council-meeting held on this occasion by the iziddifen had as its object, as the written qanun shows us, the legislation of neighborhood questions concerning the council, regulation of the coexistence of its lineage members, guaranteeing the free and peaceful usufruct of individual and communal (i.e. water) property,

423 Nash's remark about property among the Zayn
171 Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in the Rif. ". . . Since land is what parents leave children to start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor of production" (1966:39).

556 Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by
576 acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social res-
574 ponsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however, generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel about from community to community consulting with their own kind or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually, the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight inconvenience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived, such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off familes have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local
692 level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
692 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is
556 placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
554 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form
591 of mutual support between local lords and the community was such

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[11] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[12]

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[13] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[11] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[12] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.